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〔東洋學叢書〕

柳宗元研究

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Summary

Part I Aesthetics of the Defeated

Chapter 1 Literature during the Period of Degradation

This chapter shows how Liu Zong-yuan (柳宗元)'s mind and his literary works were influenced by his relegation to Yongzhou (永州).

Liu Zong-yuan always pursued the moral way of dao (道). When in Chang'an (長安), he made a connection between the bureaucracy (guan 官) and the moral way; during his stay in Yongzhou, he made a connection between the literature of wen (文) and the moral way. He could overcome his bitter life of degradation in Yongzhou through his persistent pursuit after the moral way. In Yongzhou, Liu Zong-yuan came to attach more importance to the principle of the moral way, "rouwai-gangzhong (柔外剛中)." This attitude can be seen in his way of life even in Chang'an. This principle was generated by the application of the Yi (易)'s way of perception of the world to the moral way. And it was the principle for keeping the ideal attitude of the intellectuals of shidafu (士大夫).

In the same period, he changed his style from the parallel (pian-wen 駢文) to the classical (gu-wen 古文). This may be interpreted as his effort to overcome his political defeatedness and to revive himself in literature.

Chapter 2 The Paradox of Defeat: On Fable

This chapter examines what Liu Zong-yuan's defeatedness means to himself in his fables.

Liu Zong-yuan's fables are of three types. A first group criticizes the evils of his contemporary society, and comes from his outrage at the society that rejected him. A second group consists of ironical and indirect criticisms of the society, showing Liu Zong-yuan's gift most apparently. Although it criticizes the society, a third type seeks new ways of living, and in some of them his paradoxical view of life can be seen.

It can be said that Liu Zong-yuan's greatness lies in his exploration of the literature of fools. The term of 'fool' implies a real positive value in life,

while it has apparently a negative value. On account of this double structure of values, Liu Zong-yuan appreciates the merits of foolish men. Through adhering obstinately to foolishness, he tried to justify his righteousness. His struggle was also carried out on the basis of defeatedness. Liu Zong-yuan always sympathizes with the defeated, thereby creating a literary form in which he expresses a viewpoint of the defeated. Thus the fact that he pursued a various forms of defeat in his works might suggest inversely that he pursued his lofty ideal. Underneath his fables, we can see a pride of a person who pursued such an ideal and failed.

Part II Facing with Nature

Chapter 1 On “Yongzhou-Baji (永州八記)”

In this chapter, the intertextual relationship between “Yongzhou-Baji” and the precedent works, the difference between the first four chapters and the rest four, and the connection between “Yongzhou-Baji” and “You-huangxi-ji (游黃溪記)” are examined.

Liu Zong-yuan's prose work on “Mountain and Water” has three motives: “to recognize neglected values,” “to explain the process of finding the beauty,” and “to write down the joy of finding the values.” These motives are also in the works of the writers of *gu-wen*, such as Yuan Jie (元結) and Han Yu (韓愈), and, in fact, their works influenced Liu Zong-yuan's on “Mountain and Water.” “Yongzhou-Baji” also reflects *Shui-jing-zhu* (水經注)'s way of representing nature.

In the first four chapters of “Yongzhou-Baji,” Liu Zong-yuan expresses himself in the description of the nature; for example, he identifies himself with a soaring mountain, implying sometimes his homesickness. In the rest four, though he also identifies himself with the nature, he projects himself as an object. In the first four, Chang'an was described as a deserted place. And in the rest, he transforms his hometown as a Utopia, and thus tries to sublimate his own affection to Chang'an. By so doing, Liu Zong-yuan accepts Yongzhou as his own hometown. To this change of his mind, the projection of himself as an object in the latter part of the work corresponds.

For this reason, sometimes common people came into his view. But it is not that he accepted his own situation complacently. The dominant peace of his mind is sometimes disturbed. He expresses it in his sour disbelief in the

Creator.

To calm the disturbance, he wrote “You-huangxi-ji.” Through the synthesis of “You-huangxi-ji” and “Yongzhou-Baji,” we can get an insight into one aspect of Yongzhou as a beautiful climate. Moreover, in “You-huangxi-ji,” unlike “Yongzhou-Baji,” Liu Zong-yuan’s insight reaches the reality of common people’s life based on their religious beliefs.

He faces with the harsh nature in Yongzhou, and finds beauties in it. His words “Yong is the best (永最善)” might be said only by those who pass through a purgatory of spirit.

Chapter 2 “Mountain and Water” Poetry : Conversion from Religion to Literature

This chapter deals with how Liu Zong-yuan’s “Mountain and Water” Poetry transforms itself from the first half of Yongzhou age (Rongxingsi 龍興寺, Fahuasi 法華寺 age) until the second half of Yongzhou age (Yuxi 愚溪 age).

“Mountain and Water” Poetry in the first half of Yongzhou age has a peculiar process ; it begins with complaining about his hard lot, then wandering in mountains and water, acquiring spiritual freedom, and finally facing again with his hard lot. In other words, it starts from his hard lot and returns back to it. In order to escape from his miserable circumstance, he wanders through mountains and water, enjoying beautiful landscapes, seeks for salvation in Buddhism, and hankers for pastoral life, but he never relieves himself from his melancholic solitude. However, the greatest merit of Liu Zong-yuan’s poetry lies in his continual pursuit to transform the fear of his own fate into consolation.

The mountain and water poems in the first half of Yongzhou age are characterized mainly by the description of landscapes from the height of mountains, showing the merge of his philosophy and the descriptive scenery, while his lyricism is dominant. They show Liu Zong-yuan’s interest in religion, and the terms of Buddhism are used when he expresses his own philosophy.

On the other hand, in the mountain and water poems in the latter half, Liu Zong-yuan mainly describes the landscapes viewed from the brooks, and his interest seems to lie in representing natural beauties, not his own philosophy. However, behind the apparent description of the nature, the poems had

some hidden meanings, showing his ironical way of representation. The terms of Buddhism are also used in order to describe natural scenery. Here, such terms are used as a rhetorical device to represent natural scenery, which shows that Liu Zong-yuan no longer seeks religious salvation. Rather, he is eager to find his salvation in literature, not in religion.

By shifting his viewpoint from high mountains to the brook, he tries to acquire viewpoints of ordinary people instead of one of the supernatural. This means his shift of attention from religion to literature.

Chapter 3 Phases of Poetry of Vegetation Planting

This chapter examines Liu Zong-yuan's poetry with titles of planting vegetation, comparing his works written in Yongzhou and those in Liuzhou (柳州), and traces the history of the poetry of planting vegetation in Chinese literature.

In his poetry of planting vegetation written in his Yongzhou age, Liu Zong-yuan tries to project his own merits onto those of plants. In these works, he expresses his own frustration and pride as the politically defeated and his sorrowfulness as an exile in the foreign countries, and identifies himself with Qu Yuan (屈原), a poet who has also been defeated in a political conflict and killed himself.

The plants he grew in Yongzhou age included some medicinal herbs, such as xianlingpi (仙靈毗), zhu (朮), and bairanghe (白蘘荷). These herbs cure beriberi, rheumatism and heartburn, and also have effects on physical declining, amnesia, and poison of insects. He needed them to maintain his health in the foreign land. He uses the act of planting vegetation as a symbol of revival from physical and mental damages caused by his political defeat.

In such poems in Liuzhou, where he was posted as the governor, Liu Zong-yuan expresses the ever-stretching future time and self-consciousness as a politician. While the poetry in Yongzhou uses the motif of planting to make impressive his obstinate space-consciousness of foreign-land/alienated-space, the poetry in Liuzhou makes stand out his time-consciousness of future time.

Poetry of planting has a long history in Chinese literature. It begins with Xie Ling-yun (謝靈運) in the Six Dynasties period, and has its peak in the Mid-Tang period. However, such herbs as xianlingpi, zhu, and bairanghe described in Liu Zong-yuan's works never appear in the title of any work by

other poets. Liu Zong-yuan's works were born in the flourishing period of poetry of planting vegetation in the Mid-Tang period, and became representative.

While Qu Yuan's *Chu-ci* (楚辭) associates time with withering plants, Liu Zong-yuan represents time by the imagery of growing plants. In his way of representation, we can recognize his path of struggle in which, identifying himself with Qu Yuan, he tries to overcome Qu Yuan's pessimism, and seek out for his desirable future.

Part III The Ties of Writers of gu-wen (古文)

Chapter 1 Liu Zong-yuan's Literary Theory

In this chapter, Liu Zong-yuan's literary theory and its position in the tradition of gu-wen writers in Tang Dynasty are analysed.

First, Liu Zong-yuan's theory is divided into the following seven categories: I. Idea of Literature—(1) Theory of uniting literature and the moral way, (2) Theory of uniting the literature and the action; II. Function of Literature—(1) "Praise and Criticism"/"Prose and Verse," (2) On Catharsis; III. Utility of Literature—(1) "On Cultivation of Society" and Aesthetic Values; IV. Motivation of Literature; V. Status of Literature—(1) "Substitutive Act"/"Independence of Literature"; VI. Creativity—(1) Cultivation of Mind, (2) Tradition and Originality, (3) Wide Perspective and Spirit of Inquiry, (4) Observation and Reasoning, (5) Usage of zhuzi (助字); VII. Evaluation of Literature—(1) High Regard for the Western Han Dynasty, (2) High Regard for Chen Zi-ang (陳子昂).

Second, Liu Zong-yuan's literary theory is compared with theories of his predecessors; (1) Li Hua (李華), (2) Xiao Ying-shi (蕭穎士), (3) Yan Zhen-qing (顏真卿), (4) Jia Zhi (賈至), (5) Yuan Jie (元結), (6) Du Gu-ji (独孤及), (7) Han Hui (韓會), (8) Xu Meng-rong (許孟容), (9) Quan De-yu (權德輿), (10) Liang Su (梁肅), (11) Liu Mian (柳冕).

As the result, it becomes clear that most of Liu Zong-yuan's theories take over those of these eleven scholars, and that it is in the theory on Creativity that he could show his own originality. Liu Zong-yuan's literary theory mainly focuses on literature's aesthetic values and his adoption of aestheticism into gu-wen is the most valuable inheritance of pian-wen.

Chapter 2 Friendly Relationship between Han Yu (韓愈) and Liu Zong-yuan

This chapter deals with friendship between Han Yu and Liu Zong-yuan. Their attitudes towards some issues, such as didactics, humor, Buddhism, and historiography, are compared, and Liu Zong-yuan's contribution to the process of Han Yu's writing of "Shunzong-shilu (順宗實錄)" is explored.

Liu Zong-yuan highly regarded Han Yu's radicalism shown in the fact that he became a teacher in spite of public contempt for the profession. On the other hand, Han Yu praised Liu Zong-yuan as a distinguished teacher, for he was involved in teaching, though Liu Zong-yuan avoided being called a teacher. When Han Yu's "Maoyingzhuan (毛穎傳)" was sneered by the public, Liu Zong-yuan appreciated the work, supporting Han Yu's sense of humor expressed there. It shows that they shared a common attitude towards literature.

There are also differences between the two. For example, Liu Zong-yuan believed in Buddhism, while Han Yu denied it. One of Han Yu's poems, in which he says farewell to Buddhist priests, focuses on praising the priests' poetic talent, while showing no interest in Buddhism. On the other hand, Liu Zong-yuan's poems on Buddhist priests show that he worships and understands Buddhism. Some of Han Yu's poems, however, have motives and phrases (The Daytime Moon) based on *Niepanjing* (涅槃經). Liu Zong-yuan also gives importance to *Niepanjing*, so that this text can be seen as a bond between them.

By Liu Zong-yuan, Han Yu was encouraged while writing a history of a political movement, "Shunzong-shilu." Making historiography was an ambition which Liu Zong-yuan shared with Han Yu in their younger days, so that Liu Zong-yuan wanted Han Yu to realize the ambition for himself. Han Yu answered Liu Zong-yuan's encouragement. "Shunzong-shilu" deals with a failed political reform by the group of Wang Shu-wen (王叔文). While it highly regards their reform, it criticizes its conflicts between leaders, and its faction fightings. "Shunzong-shilu" intends to attribute the reform's failure to those superficial conflicts, and claims that the principle of the reform is righteous despite its failure.

In other words, Han Yu tries to justify the purity of the idea of Liu Zong-yuan who was a member of the reforming group. It can be said that the text was produced through their friendship.

Part IV The Profound Negativity

Chapter 1 On “Fei Guo-yu (非國語)”

This chapter deals with the relationship between Liu Zong-yuan’s “Fei Guo-yu” and *Guo-yu* (國語).

Liu Zong-yuan wrote “Fei Guo-yu” in order to criticize excessive literary grace and to preach “dazhogdao (大中道).” From the two motives derives the fundamental principle in Liu Zong-yuan’s thoughts and works. Throughout his “Fei Guo-yu,” Liu Zong-yuan criticizes *Guo-yu* for that purpose, but it is important that he criticizes it through the theories inherent in *Guo-yu*. This way of making use of an opponent’s weapon in attacking is a distinctive feature in “Fei Guo-yu.” For example, he makes a lot of quotations from *Guo-yu*, but he changes them into more effect expressions, which shows his interests in literary grace.

Guo-yu was one of the literary sources of Liu Zong-yuan’s and influenced much of his works. Though he does not approve fantastic stories in *Guo-yu*, he takes over the structure of the work. His ambivalent attitude towards *Guo-yu*, criticizing it while favoring it, comes from his teacher, Lu Chun (陸淳). Lu Chun wrote *Chunqiu-weizhi* (春秋微旨) by denying his teacher’s principle.

His ambivalent attitude, however, comes from his relegation to Yongzhou. In “Fei Guo-yu,” Liu Zong-yuan tries to deny authoritative *Guo-yu*, while he depends on it. It is his paradoxical struggle to come to terms with his political defeat.

Chapter 2 Variations of Self-Reproach

This chapter examines Liu Zong-yuan’s epistles as the literature of self-reproach, and its position in the tradition of the literary form.

In one of his epistles, “Letter to Xu-jingzhao-Mengrong (許京兆孟容),” Liu Zong-yuan analyzes what has caused the failure of the political reform in which he was involved, then he admits he was responsible for the failure and reproaches himself. On the other hand, this epistle mentions various historical figures who overcame their own difficulties, and so, it is, as it were, a guide of how to get over crises. The fact that Liu Zong-yuan reproaches himself in it does not necessarily mean that he really takes ill of

himself.

Expressing self-reproach or self-punishment is a kind of rhetoric which has a long tradition in Chinese literature. In the tradition, self-reproach was a kind of disguise. Writers have reproached themselves in their defeats in order to achieve their own goals. Traditionally, the rhetoric of self-reproach was of the following six types: (1) glorifying his own defeat; (2) attributing the failure to others; (3) criticizing the authority; (4) glorifying his friends by blaming the failure on himself; (5) glorifying his own family; (6) seeking for the way of compensation.

Liu Yu-xi (劉禹錫)'s self-reproach expresses his distrust in people and Bai Ju-yi (白居易)'s one is full of a sense of justice. Liu Zong-yuan's self-reproach shows his desire to overcome his defeat and recover his status, and he, as well as Liu Yu-xi, adds a new type to the tradition of literary self-reproach.

Shelun (設論), a literary style whose main theme is self-abasement, was the most useful for Liu Zong-yuan to express his negative attitude, so that it fits his tendency well.

Liu Zong-yuan's self-reproach works ironically, in which he blames himself to show his pride. Liu Zong-yuan describes himself as a foolish man or the defeated, so that he can reveal the society's injustice and justify himself in his ironical way. Literature of self-reproach gives him a weapon to fight with against the society.

Chapter 3 Birds that Cannot Fly

This chapter deals with Liu Zong-yuan's works with the motif of "a bird that can't fly." I compare them with previous works and illuminate Liu Zong-yuan's originality.

Birds that can't fly had already appeared in *Shi-jing* (詩經). Two viewpoints are expressed there: one of a man who shoots birds, and another of birds which are shot. And it is in *Chu-ci* (楚辭) that the latter viewpoint became predominant. In Han Wei (漢魏) and the Six Dynasties, poems on "a hurt bird" or "a bird in cage" appeared besides those on "a bird that flies away" or "a bird that comforts itself."

The bird that can't fly symbolizes the danger of life, the hard times, the fall of the world, the lonely feeling caused by homesickness or parting, the image of death, and so on.

In Tang Dynasty, “a falling bird” represented a poet’s sorrowfulness caused by failing the examination of ke ju (科舉), and “a sick bird” increased, and especially in the Mid-Tang Dynasty “birds that can’t be overwhelmed,” and “bad birds” appeared. A way of thinking of “birds in a cage” changed, and poets made the inside of a cage the sacred space in which they could make a poem.

Liu Zong-yuan deals with the motif of “a bird that can’t fly” in his sequential poems, “Qiwuci (歧鳥詞),” “Longyingci (籠鷹詞)” and “Fangzhenguci (放鷓鴣詞).” The sequence is significant, and it features his recovering from the damage of his political defeat. No poet before Liu Zong-yuan has expressed his mind’s transition in such sequential poems, so it can be said that Liu Zong-yuan’s works are epoch-making in the history of the poetry of “a bird that can’t fly.”

Some of his works take over the traditional way of describing “a bird that can’t fly,” but some of his works describe a bird that becomes impossible to fly because it has approached the sun too close, which represents a man who has pursued his ideal. This is also Liu Zong-yuan’s original way of using the motif.

The distinctive feature of Liu Zong-yuan’s poems on “a bird that can’t fly” is that they represent an indomitable spirit which never gives up any attempt to fly under difficult circumstances.

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